FREE SOCIETY

A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK AND LITERATURE.

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Goddess of Liberty, Answer!

Goddess of Liberty, Listen!
Listen, I say, and look
To the sounds and sights of sorrow
This side of Sandy Hook!
Your eye is searching the distance,
You are holding your torch too high
To see the slaves who are fettered,
Tho close at your feet they lie.
And the cry of the suffering stranger
Has reached your ear and your breast,
But you do not heed the wail
From the haunts of your own oppressed.

Goddess of Liberty, Follow!
Follow me where I lead;
Descend with me to the sweat-shop
And look on the work of the greed!
Look on the faces of children,
Old as soon as they're born!
Look on the haggard women,
Of all sex-graces shorn.
Look on the men—God help us!
If this is what it means
To be men in the land of Freedom
And live like mere machines.

Goddess of Liberty, Answer!
How can the slaves of Spain
Find freedom 'neath your banner,
While your own still wear the chain?
Loud is the screech of your eagle
And boastful the voice of your drums;
But they silence not the wail of despair
That rises from out of your slums.
What will you do with your conquests
And how shall your hosts be fed,
While your streets are filled with desperate throngs,
Crying for work or for bread?

—G. A. R., in *Fair Play*.

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Must State Socialism Come First?

Actually it is often said: Whatever happens, we must in any case pass thru the State Socialism of the Social Democrats before we realize a better society. We do not confidently say "No." But if that must be so, we shall yet have far and long to fight our way. If the signs of the times do not deceive us we see already the lower middle class, in combination with the aristocracy of the workers, preparing to take over political power from the hands that hold it today. That will be the dictatorship of the fourth State, behind which has already formed a fifth State, which will be happier under the rule of the fourth than the fourth is now under the dominations of the third. Judging from some recent events we may very justifiably entertain reasonable apprehensions. What is left of freedom of thought and speech in the official German social democratic party? The discipline of the party has become a tyranny, and woe to him who opposes the leaders of the party—they make short work of him. What liberty is there in the much belauded cooperative societies of Belgium? We could produce evidence to prove that such a liberty is a more grievious despotism than is ordinarily met with. In any case the fifth State will have the same struggle to maintain, and a stupendous effort will be necessary to free it from the domination of the fourth State. And if there should subsequently be a domination of the fifth State to the detriment of the sixth, and so on, how very prolonged will be the sufferings of the proletariat? Once a social democratic State has been established it will not be easy to abolish it, and it is very possible it may be less difficult to strangle it at its birth than to depose it when it shall have been established. We cannot expect that the people, after having exhausted their strength in a Homeric contest with the bourgeoisie, will be ready at once to enter upon a struggle with the bureaucratic State of Social Democrats. If we ever become the subjects of such a State we will be for a long time the victims of its blessings. From the Christian revolution at the commencement of our era—which had in the beginning a similar Communist tendency—we have fallen into the hands of clerical and feudal despotism, and we have actually been subject to it for nearly nineteen centuries.

If that can be avoided, let us try our best.

Liebknecht, at Berlin, expressed his belief that State Socialism and Social Democracy were on the eve of their final battle. "The further capitalism goes to ruin, rot, and dissolution, the more clearly does bourgeois society perceive that in the end it cannot defend itself against the attacks of Socialist ideas, and so much nearer do we approach the moment when State Socialism will be seriously proclaimed: and the last battle that Social Democracy has got to wage will be begun under the device, "Here Social Democracy: there State Socialism." The first part is true, the second not. It is evident that by that time Social Democrats will have been so absorbed by the State Socialists that they will fight as allies. Let us not forget that to all appearance the revolution will not be brought about by the Social Democrats, who for the most part have thrown off—except in words—their revolutionary character, but by the mob who having become impatient will begin the revolution against the advice of their leaders. And when the mob shall have risked its life, and the revolution shall have been completed, the Social Democrats will suddenly rush to the front and try to appropriate (without striking a blow) the honors of the revolution, and claim it as their own work.

In truth, revolutionary Socialists are not without responsibility; it lies with them to sanction a dictatorship, or to usher in an era of freedom. It ought to be their endeavor that after the struggle the mob be not dismissed with thanks for services rendered, and that it be not disarmed, for those who have might can assert the right. They must prevent others from starting up and organizing themselves as a central committee, or as a government under any form whatever, and especially, of course, they must not reveal themselves in these objectionable shapes. The people must be allowed to manage their own affairs and to defend their own interests if they do not wish to be again defrauded. The people must look with suspicion upon eloquent dissertations on the rights of man issued on paper, and take care that when the socialization of the means of production is decreed they do not pass again in reality under the power of new rulers, chosen under the mischievous influence of electoral intrigues (not unknown where universal suffrage prevails) and under the disguise of a sham democracy. We have had enough of reforms on paper. It is time that we had something genuine in the way of reform, and that will only come about when the people really hold the reins of power. Let there be no more play on the words "evolution" and "revolution," as if they were opposites. Both have the same meaning—their only difference consists in the time of their appearance.

Deville, whom nobody will suspect of Anarchism, but who is known and recognized as a Social Democrat, and who wields some influence, recognizes this fact, as we do. He writes: "Evolution and revolution do not contradict each other; on the contrary, they succeed and complete each other—the second is the conclusion of the first. Revolution is only the characteristic crisis which effectively ends a period of evolution."

In fact revolution is nothing else than the inevitable final phase of all evolution, but there is no opposition between these two terms, as is often suggested. To avoid all confusion, and that it may be remembered, we may briefly state the difference. A revolution is a rapid change, easily noticed, from one condition to another. An evolu-

tion is a much slower transition, with progress less perceptible.

Let us now endeavor to establish the conclusion that Socialism is in danger in consequence of the tendency of the vast majority. The chief danger is the influence of capitalism on the social democratic party. Indeed the less revolutionary character of the party in some countries arises from the fact that a far greater number of adherents of the party would have something to lose if a violent social change were to take place. That is why the social democracy shows itself by degrees more moderate, well-behaved, practical, diplomatic (in its own language, more cunning), until ultimately it will become thin-blooded by reason of its cunning, and so pale that soon it won't know itself. Social democracy will capture still more votes, altho the increase is not as rapid as Engels and Bebel imagined it would be; there will be more members in parliament, more communal councillors, and other Socialist dignitaries; more newspapers, book stores, and printing offices; in countries like Belgium and Denmark there will be more bakeries, drug stores, cooperative stores, etc.; Germany will furnish more cigar merchants, brewery firms, etc.,; in a word, a great number of persons will be ecomically dependent on the future "peaceable and calm development" of the movement; that is to say, any really revolutionary action would be dangerous to their interests. And these are precisely the leaders of the party, and, in consequence of the "discipline," almost omnipotent. In this case as in others it is economic conditions which guide the policy of the party. When we see the German party patted on the back by the bourgeois press, as is sometimes done, putting it in contrast with vulgar revolutionary Socialists, it gives material for reflection. One of our leading newspaper published the following paragraph, in which there is something suggestive for the thoughtful observer: "Our Socialists in these later years have become so refined, have so curled and pomaded themselves in the most recent parliamentary style, that we may say that we are witnesses of the beginning of the gradual transformation of a party most revolutionary into a party not exactly radical, but which considers the existing framework of society not sufficiently elastic and roomy to accommodate it, even with all its discontent."

The actual development of German Socialism is a very important subject, which it is not our business to treat in the present essay. Even if the number of Socialist deputies in the Reichstag has risen from sixty to seventy [This treatise was written several years ago.—A I.] there is not yet anything to cause dread to the German empire. In the first place, Socialism manifests its weakness in becoming a party numerically strong in parliament, for its adherents then expect results from it more positive than a parliamentary fraction can obtain, even by increased tameness and compliance. In the second place, we may be sure that the non-Socialist parties will smooth down all opposition existing between them in proportion as Socialists attack them more vigorously as an influential party in the legislature.

But the danger which threatens us is not after all so great—it is evidently a phase of evolution. It is not our business to form a movement according to our caprices, but we have to analyse the situation. Spite of all the efforts of leaders to send the movement thru an artificial canal, the economic development pursues its steady advance, and men will be forced to conform their actions to that development, for it will never accommodate itself to their whims or preferences.

It is not surprising that backward countries like Germany and Austria are favorable to the principal of authority. When western nations like France, England, the Low Countries, and Belgium had for long quaffed the cup of freedom, Germany did not even know how to spell the word "liberty." That is why political development, in that country is almost at a standstill, and altho she has overtaken other countries on the lines of economic development her political development remains very far behind. He who understands to some extent the State policy of Germany (and this is even more true of Austria) knows how retrograde it is. And altho Belfort-Bax considers the German Socialists as the natural leaders of the international Socialist movement, we think that the guidance of such a movement cannot be trusted to an oriental people.

We regard the future with calmness because we have the assured conviction that events will not follow our or any other theories, and that the future belongs to those who will have most closely reckoned up the items that constitute progress—who will have analyzed most accurately the signs of the times.

For us truth is found in the following words: Theft is the modern deity, parliamentarianism is his prophet, and the State his executioner. That is why we remain in the ranks of Free Socialists, who do not exorcise the Devil by Beelzebub, the chief of devils, but who go straight to the end, without compromise, and without laying any offerings upon the altar of our corrupt capitalist society.—From "Socialism in Danger," by F. Domela Nieuwenhuis.

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A Bit of Plain Philosophy.

When we ask the question "For what reason or purpose does the world exist?" we find that there is no satisfactory answer. That is proven by the philosophers, from Plato to Kant, Fichte, Shopenhauer, Herbert Spencer and many others. None of them have answered that question satisfactorily. The world is there, without an imaginable end in space and time, and we must take it, as it is, without questioning the reason for its being, and only think that, if there were nothing at all, that would be made more difficult to imagine than a world without a reason for its existence.

There comes another question, "For what reason or purpose is man in this world?" Well, there are thousands of different answers to this question; but gives any of them entire satisfaction? No. Well, here comes my attempt. In order to come to a satisfactory result, we must thoroly do away with all metaphysical speculations and imaginations and not go any further than we can reach with our senses. What we can see, hear, feel, smell, etc., let that be the objects of our study and observations; and with this firm basis we may calculate, measure, weigh, analyze, etc., the objects within this sphere. There is work not only for us as long as we live, but for all mankind yet to come; and this work is so immense and so interesting that there is no time and not even a desire to ask silly questions about fanciful objects beyond this sphere. That is only done by the lazy and ignorant.

Well, suppose we acquire all the knowledge we possibly can about the material things in the world, would that help to answer our question about our purpose? A great deal. Let us direct our studies and observations to the organic beings on our planet. We notice that all the organisms, from the most simple ones, which consist only of a little bag with some fluent matter in it, up to man, the most complicated and perfect organism; the study of which alone is an everlasting work, are by the majority of men too much neglected. The Spiritualists would be better to study the compositions of this organism rather than to try to find a soul in it; what a help that would be in so many cases of sickness. Well, we find that all these numberless millions of different organisms have one desire in common: *that is the desire to enjoy life.* For this end they seek protection against destroying powers, proper housing, food, etc., and the animals succeed in this better than the greater part of men, who live without proper food, clothing, housing, and protection against destroying powers. This desire to enjoy life is called in men egoism, and teachers, preachers, philosophers, and writers often tell us that this egoism must be rooted out, if we want to live happy and in harmony with our fellowmen. Nothing can be more wrong and perverse. This egoism is not only natural and perfectly correct, but it is *necessary*, because without it the whole organic world would soon die out. Egoism is the lever of all our actions.

But now comes the most difficult question, "How to enjoy life, *and how to do it best.*" The first consideration is health, without which life is miserable. In order to be healthy it is necessary to have proper food, good clothing and housing with plenty of fresh air and with surroundings pleasant and enjoyable, work which I like for my muscles and brain powers, which is necessary for my health, and then recreation, enjoyment and merry making in company with my fellow men. This is egoism just as pure as it is necessary, and to root it out is a very childish and unsound idea.

But there is another important consideration. The natural and unspoilt man is not satisfied with all I have mentioned for his enjoyment. When he sees his fellowmen suffer that embitters all his pleasures, feeling a strong desire to rid them of their misery; and in doing so he finds satisfaction which is greater than all that he got by thinking and working for himself alone. Such activity, then, the working for others, the general welfare, is called altruism; but we see that altruism and egoism become identical. In fact, the so-called altruism is nothing else but egoism in its highest, most refined form. The man who does everything for himself to keep healthy, in order to be able to work,

and do the work well, finds his greatest pleasure in life to work for the welfare of his fellow men and for the common good, *that is your perfect human egoism.* It is natural that a person, seeing so much activity among his fellow men, searches for the root of the evil, and he finds soon that the main cause is this incessant struggle among men for the goods of the earth. There is not a leaf in the whole history of mankind from the very beginning up to this day which is not filled with records of bloody wars, connected with incredible cruelties and followed by misery, poverty, starvation, and fearful pestilence. Besides these slaughters *en masse*, there are constant fights among clans, among families, and individuals. And these struggles will never cease so long as individuals hold part of these goods as their private property. Only when society declares: "All the goods on earth are either created by nature, or by the united work of society, therefore they shall not ask to be private property of individuals, but must always remain the common, *indivisible* means of society, which the individuals may use and enjoy without let or hindrance."

As there is much doubt among men that society can live in harmony under such conditions, it is the task of all those who have acquired a clearer insight of human affairs to show the skeptics that it is easy for society to produce such an abundanee of all the good things of life that no restriction is necessary, and that, with plenty for everybody, there will be no strife. Then we will have peace on earth and a happy mankind.

Now I come back to the question, "For what purpose do we live?" My answer is: "We live to enjoy life, and enjoy it as much as we possibly can. In order to do this we must keep healthy, so as to have physical and mental powers to work, and we must learn that the greatest, highest and most refined enjoyment consists in working for the common good of all and for the general welfare of mankind." E. STEINLE.

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Echoes.

"Assassinations, the murderers of kings and rulers are not, as it is asserted, of modern origin. Neither are they specific phenomena of modern revolutionary movements. Here is a book," the speaker held up the Bible, "in which murder is glorified. In the books 'Judges' and 'Kings' the murder of rulers is justified and praised as pleasing to God. Therefore the Bible also ought to be prohibited in this country."

These sentences are taken from a speech made by one of the speakers at the Turner's protest meeting in Brooklyn. These words strike home. To be sure, according to the anti-Anarchist law the Bible should be prohibited in this country, for in its leaves assassination is not only sanctioned but glorified. The student of history also knows how often the adherents of the Bible, pious Christians, availed themselves of the dagger and pistol in order to rid themselves of opponents whom they hated.

* * *

"Owing to their inherent truths and the fidelity to convictions they bestow upon us, must great ideas victoriously penetrate mankind, even if their adherents abstain from vigorous propaganda." Such is the opinion of the good-natured and easy-going, who, altho themselves embracing progressive views, consider it superfluous to disseminate such ideas energetically. But this opinion is fundamentally wrong. As the individnal begins to rust when he is inactive, so ideas soon begin to decay and fall into oblivion if they are not day by day heralded in the market of life. Men are generally of a loose thinking and superficial kind. If they are to be imbued with an idea, this must be dinned into their ears again and again. The Roman church owes its power to a vigorous and untiring propaganda, and only thru a similar stirring agitation as the church unfolded to enthrall minds, can the thoughts of Socialism and Anarchism be victorious in freeing enslaved mankind.

* * *

Confidentially many a man will admit to his radical friends that he also holds socialistic and anarchistic views. But, he adds apologetically, his business relations, his employment, or regards to his family, unfortunately prevent him from identifying himself with socialistic or anarchistic views.

These eternal considerations that man pretends he has to take! What miserable cowardice which hampers and influences his whole life! People who whisper to their neighbors that at the bottom of their hearts they are also Socialists, nay, Anarchists, but cannot utter their convictions aloud, stigmatize themselves as sneaks, no matter how honest they may be otherwise. One who knows the truth and does not dare to express it is a miserable coward. His pretences and excuses only make him appear more wretched. One who has not the courage to utter his convictions should crawl aside, for he only brands himself as a ridiculous swagger and pitiable dastard if he secretly boasts of radical views which he publicly carefully denies.

* * *

Thievery was shamelessly going on before and after the catastrophe at the Iroquois theatre. "The human brute knows no pity, no regard, not even at the sight of a calamity which ought also to stagger the emotion of crude characters. Wholesale robbery and retail plunder is the watchword. After the battle the hyenas of the battlefield appear and with cowardly greed empty the pockets of the helpless and mutilated bodies. The avarice of the managers and the corruptibility of the authorities have caused there a carnage which the collision of hostile hordes could make no more atrocious. The robber-gangs who usually follow the hordes as a swarm of vultures, have also here, in uniforms and civil dress, practised their infamous trade.

Sentimental philanthropists may lament about degeneracy and brutality. The student of the times is not at all surprised at the robbing of dead bodies. The conditions create thieves and plunderers and rob them of their last vestige of dread and shame. The accursed economic system, to which all submit, renders man a brute and unchains his lowest instincts. Repulsive and offensive in the highest degree is the conduct of these wretches who, even at the majesty of death in its darkest horror, could not restrain their rapacity; yet what are they if not the legitimate, nay, inevitable sproutings of dominating, degenerating and devastating capitalism."—*Martin Drescher.*

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To Plutocrat.

I forced Mr. Plutocrat to the wall; did you hear him bellow? Mr. Plutocrat acknowledged, that I am right, that the law is not able to protect him from injury by anyone; and therefore he hides his identity. This acknowledgement is harder than pulling teeth for Mr. Plutocrat; he squirms like an eel. I hope he will find enough of consolation among his own class, to repay him for this humiliation. JOHN FAY.

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A New Definition.

I heard a story the other day. The Smoot matter has called attention to polygamy, and it is said that one of the children in the public schools asked the teacher what polygamy was.

"I am glad," said the lady, "that this question is asked and I shall explain it as well as I can, and I want you to remember, for I shall ask you later about it. When a man has one wife only that is monogamy. If he has two that is bigamy; if more, that is polygamy." A few days later, she asked the children: "When a man has several wives what is that?" A little hand went up. "It is polygamy," said the child. "Yes," answered the teacher, "I am glad to see that you remember—and when he has two, what is that?" Another hand was raised. "That's bigamy," "Good," said the teacher, "and when he has only one, what is it?" "That's monotony," said the child. BOLTON HALL.

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LETTER-BOX.

P. J. Ingraham, Ill.—It is certainly sad to observe the indolence of crawling and cringing slaves. But if the Anarchists succeed in awakening those few who are more or less active in the labor movement, we shall finally be victorious.

A. T., New York—*Discontent* has changed its name and appears now under the heading of *The Demonstrator*, at Home, Wash. How "things are in general" at the Home colony I cannot tell.

P. F., City.—The paper is mailed regularly to your address, and if you fail to receive the same it would be well to ask your wife or other guardians of the house, who are sometimes in the habit of burning papers which are liable to "contaminate" husbands and minors.

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New York, Attention!

The new group of New York, the Radical Club, has arranged a theater performance for the benefit of FREE SOCIETY, which will take place on Thursday, Feb. 4, 1904, 8 p. m., in Thalia theater, 46 Bowery. The well known and attractive play, the Jewish Sappho, will be performed by Mrs. Calsh and the other best actors of the house. Comrade Emma Goldman will speak between the acts on "The English Propaganda."

Tickets can be got from the following:

Radical Reading Room, 180 Forsyth St.
M. Maisel's bookstore, 194 E. Broadway
Herrick Bros., 141 Division St.
Parnes & Katz Café, 167 E. Broadway.
H. Nack's Barbershop, 79 Clinton St.
The Manhattan Café, 90 Manhattan Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

All comrades are cordially invited to aid the club by selling tickets. H. COMAROW.

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, JANUARY 17, 1904.

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If these figures correspond with the number printed on the wrapper of your FREE SOCIETY, your subscription expires with this number.

Notes.

Friends are requested to give us the names of persons who are likely to be interested in FREE SOCIETY, that we may send them sample copies.

* * *

Subscribers to FREE SOCIETY who are in arrears should not let the holiday festivals make them forget to renew their subscriptions. Send in your renewal now; it is the best Holidays present you can make to the paper.

* * *

To anyone sending us $2 we will send FREE SOCIETY one year and Dr. Greer's "A Physician in the House" or his new work "The Wholesome Woman." Also to anyone sending us one new subscriber and $2 we will send the same. This applies to renewals as well as new subscriptions.

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For Chicago.

Sunday, Jan. 31, 2 p. m., a meeting of comrades of all nationalities will take place at Toggenburger's Hall, 105 Wells St. The subjects to be considered are (1) "Our Relation to the Labor Movement," (2) "The Propaganda in General," and (3) "Our Press." All are cordially invited.

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The Sociological League meets every Sunday evening, 8 p. m. sharp, in Jefferson Hall, Fraternity Bldg., 70 Adams St. Admission 10 cents. Jan. 17 W. F. Barnard will speak on "Trades Unionism."

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In the *prize contest* for the benefit of *Free Society* the following numbers have been victorious: 462, 121, and 84.

* * *

Liberty Group meets every Thursday, 8 p. m., at 427 Park Ave., corner Western Ave., for business and social purposes.

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The Linotype Fund.

At the time of this report, Monday, Jan. 17, the linotype fund stands thus:

PLEDGES.

At last report	$ 125.00

PAID CASH.

Previously reported	$ 144.50
Jos. Kopp, Los Angeles, Cal.	1.00
Total,	$145.50

Parry and Thrust.

Love laughs at duty.

* * *

Truth is not a "grafter."

* * *

Free spirits cherish freedom.

* * *

Worshipping "God" is slavery.

* * *

Free thought knows no limitations.

* * *

Exploitation is disguised as "industry."

* * *

Roosevelt's nightmare is the Panama scandal.

* * *

The holdup man is a brother of the hold-down man.

* * *

Theatre fires make the law look like a mockery or fraud.

* * *

Rockefeller worships "God" by stealing in the name of "God."

* * *

Even the governmentalists are ashamed of the anti-Anarchist law.

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Land will not be "free" till man is free. Take notice, Single Taxers.

* * *

Political Socialism is an attempt to bring fraternity out of a big free fight.

* * *

Chamberlain advocates the kind of protection which charges ten dollars for saving five cents.

* * *

Free love is the love which is yours without force; will you tell me what other love you desire?

* * *

Bryan met Tolstoy while in Russia. Will Bryan when he returns to Nebraska kindly answer Tolstoy's arguments?

* * *

One of Anarchism's answers to political Socialism is that it is better to do nothing than to do evil thinking it good.

* * *

District Attorney Jerome says that men, not laws, are the safeguards of justice. Jerome does not know how near he is to a great truth.

* * *

The Chicago board of education refuses to name school buildings after soldiers. The truth will out sometimes, even thru boards of education.

* * *

War between Russia and Japan would be "disorder" of course, but it would not be Anarchy. No. Anarchy is something much worse, for it would prevent "glorious war."

* * *

Senator Morgan has made another attack upon the president as a leading factor in bringing about the Panama revolution. The answer of Roosevelt is one of the most eloquent silence.

* * *

Some "Revisionists" of Chicago are stirring up the Social Democrats, who are contrasting them unfavorably with the German "Revisionists." Party factions always make parties tremble. Parties are sheep herds.

* * *

The Associated Liars: I mean the Associated Press, is doing all that it can to mislead the American people in what it gives out for publication about the Colorado miners' strike. Even free speech has been suppressed in San Miguel country.

* * *

Mayor Harrison of Chicago permitted a firetrap theatre, Thalia Hall on W. Eighteenth St., to open in defiance of the ordinances, but kept The Auditorium closed, tho it has a steel curtain. Great ordinances; great mayor; great order; great—Bah!

* * *

Anarchism is a stench in the nostrils of those who are made happy by the misery of others: the gold gatherers, the caste makers and perpetuators; and in the name of their cherished disorder these cry for "law and order." But "liberty and order" will yet be mankind's watchword.

* * *

District Attorney Jerome hit the nail on the head when in his Chicago address he said that the cause of public corruption is the dominance in our lives of commercialism. Had he further stated that commercialism is the bad result of general economic evils, he would have driven the nail home.

* * *

Ex-president Cleveland declined an invitation to dinner recently with the statement that he was suffering from "a vexatious indisposition." For bombast and for pretentious speech, commend me to Cleveland, either in or out of office. "The stuffed prophet" had probably over eaten.

* * *

The State teaches hate, the State teaches the oppression of weaker peoples, the State teaches murder, and all manner of cruelty and oppression. Above all the State teaches that obedience to its mandates is the greatest of virtues, and disobedience thereto the worst of crimes. Why should we honor the State?

* * *

Bishop Fallows began a prayer over the Iroquous theatre disaster in these words "O God, our heavenly father, we pray for an unshaken faith in thy goodness." The need for an "unshaken faith" was never more strenuous than then. The bishop took the same attitude toward his "God" as the ever fooled patriot takes toward his government when it half strangles him.

* * *

Justice Harlan of the United States Supreme Court is reported to feel concern for the spirit of the Constitution in view of the fact of bad effort on the part of "certain men . . . to make this country a world power." Jurist that he is, justice Harlan cannot see that expansion and increase of power are inevitable objects of every State. The encroachments of government are only limited by the possibilities.

* * *

The 11th of January, Denver, Colorado, saw a convention of unionists, which met

to consider the Colorado conditions. Governor Peabody having established martial law in San Miguel County, having suspended the right of habeas corpus despite the ruling of the supreme court, having commanded all men to give up their firearms, having established a strict press censorship, and having ordered the inhabitants of Telluride to be in their houses by nine in the evening, has given good reason for the holding of such a convention. May the miners learn thru his acts what the State really is!

AMERICUS.

—— o ——

By the Wayside.

The Chicago *Examiner* has taken the task upon itself of protecting the persecuted Jews in Russia; but strange to say, it does not seem to know anything about the outrages daily perpetrated upon the miners in Colorado. Hearst is a stockholder in the mines.

* * *

The Chicago *Chronicle*, the mouth-piece of capitalist arrogance, threatens organized labor with the approaching "Day of Reckoning" if the toilers continue to demand a larger share of what they produce. But the editor entirely ignores the records of history, which inform posterity that the "day of reckoning," brought about by tyranny and oppression, was always more disastrous to the masters than to the slaves; for the latter have "nothing but their chains to loose and a whole world to gain."

* * *

Anent the arrest of E. Engley, ex-attorney general of Cripple Creek, the counsel of the strikers, our German contemporary in this city, the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, very aptly says: "The impudence of the revengeful mine owners knows no limits. Governor Peabody seems only to be there to execute their commands. The strikers are absolutely outlawed. Anyone being conspicuous among them thru his intelligence and energy is silenced by the authorities. The 'white terror' rules in Colorado, and there is no end of this tyranny in view. The mine owners show clearly that, altho always boasting of their loyalty to law, rights and laws have no meaning to them, as soon as their profits come in question. The government officials are merely servants of the exploiters. The striking toilers are outlawed. This is the situation in the twentieth century, and in an alleged free country. These are the achievements of a republic in which year after year the glorious shaking off of a foreign yoke is celebrated with great noise."

* * *

The Chicago dailies have gone into paroxism of denunciation against the Federation of Labor, and designate it as "the Federation of Anarchy" and "apologists for criminals," suggesting that "these men are incendiaries, who should be kept under surveillance like Anarchists," as "they are making themselves liable for murder as Parsons and Spies did." This cry of rage has been called forth by the remarks of a few delegates of the Federation who laid the cause of crime at the door of law and government. One of them observed that he had more respect for the "crimininal" who helped himself to the necessaries of life, when in need, than for the law-abiding citizen who crawls into the cellar and commits suicide rather than violate property laws. Another reason for this furious outbreak against labor was the decision of the typographical union, which body abandoned the idea of building their own headquarters, fearing that the building might be seized at any time by the courts under one pretext or another. This the indignant dailies denounce as a calumny and creating contempt for the "equitable laws of this country." "Our laws apply to rich and poor alike" boastfully exclaims one of the well-paid editors. But on the same day the Chicago *Journal* had the following editorial, under the heading "Big, Versus Little Thieves":

> Gov. Bliss of Michigan has set Frank C. Andrews at liberty after he had served only one year of the fifteen to which he was sentenced for bank-wrecking. The governor's reason was not that Andrews was innocent or had reformed or was dying of consumption. It was that the creditors of the banks Andrews had wrecked could save more out of the wreck with the wrecker's assistanee than without it. In other words, the governor thought it his duty to aid the creditors in compounding a felony.
>
> This action of the governor's was apparently based on the theory heretofore advanced by Anarchists only, that there is one law for the rich and another for the poor. Its logical conclusion is that if you steal enough you are immune from punishment. The poor devil who is in jail for stealing a Christmas turkey could not get out on returning a wing and a leg, but the the man who steals millions has nothing to fear if he will give a part of them back.
>
> Gov. Bliss has in this single act done more to create public comtempt for the law than has been done by all the malefactors in the Michigan penitentiary since it was built.

But the editor of the *Journal* is not very well versed in literature or else he would not have made the blunder of asserting that heretofore only the Anarchists advanced the "theory" "that ther is one law for the rich and another for the poor." In the *Forthnightly Review* of 1892 William Robert says on "the administration of justice in America, among other things:

> With the laws themselves no one [?—A. I] has any fault to find; they are, to all intent and purposes, our own laws codified and transferred to the American statute book. But unfortunately the same cannot be said for the administration of these laws. In England it was said at one time, and it may be true to some extent now, that there was one law for the rich and another for the poor. In America this has been greatly simplified; there is only one law, a law for the rich and none for the poor. When a man commits a crime, the punishment does not depend so much on whether he is guilty or not guilty, as on whether he is rich or poor, whether he has political influence or not.

INTERLOPER.

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From Many Lands.

In Barcelona, Spain, the dock laborers went on strike and naval communication is completely paralyzed. The railway workers held a convention to discuss their interests, and the delegates adjourned with an enthusiastic: "Hurrah for the Social Revolution!" Mr. Gompers should take notice.

The strike of the textile workers in Krimmitschau, Germany, is not settled yet. In Berlin mass-meetings in sympathy with the strikers are being held all over the city. In one of them a Socialist member of the Reichstag, Rosenow, made the following characteristic statement: "Parliament will not grant the workers the ten-hour workday, and therefore the trade unions must struggle for it themselves. Then, after most of the workers have gained the ten-hour day, the reactionary members of the Reichstag will pass a law accordingly." What encouragement for the Socialist voters!

In Russia there is a feverish activity and a vigorous propaganda displayed by the "Social Revolutionists," especially in the institutions of learning. The Social Democrats have done their utmost in trying to dominate the labor movement in Russia, and since they have not succeeded the leaders resort to denunciations. At the congress of the Social Democrats they passed a resolution the gist of which is that Social Revolutionists are not to be looked upon as Socialists, but as adherents of the liberal middle class, and should therefore be combated with any and all means. Not even in the struggle against czarism should the Social Democrats walk hand in hand with the revolutionists. "Vote for us, or be damned" is their motto everywhere.

"A shell manufactured for the use of the United States navy exploded at the Midvale Steel Works," says the *Truth Seeker*, "and the newspapers straightway discovered and announced an Anarchist plot to destroy the guns on our ships by so preparing the shells that they would prematurely explode. . . . The impression was conveyed that the country is full of desperate criminals calling themselves Anarchists, united in secret societies and plotting to kill and burn and destroy everything and everybody." Altho the chief of ordinance at Washington, Admiral O'Neil, ridiculed the newspaper reports, the people are still under the impression that the plot really existed; for, as the *Truth Seeker* remarks, "the press gave to the denial three inches of space in obscure corners, where one out of a hundred readers of the papers will see it."

A similar plot was "discovered" in Chicago. A man died, and a German paper made the statement that the deceased had been rooming in a house with Louis Lingg, years ago. Immediatdly the police were on their feet searching the house, where they "found a lot of incendiary literature and letters, pieces of gas pipe, such as was used for the Haymarket bomb," and an "enlarged picture of Louis Lingg," all of which articles were taken to the police station. All the dailies had detailed reports of the valuable discovery made by the omniscient police, but none of them cared to publish the facts which the land lord of the dead men revealed as follows: The "incendiary literature" consisted of two books, one being a description of a city in Germany, the other containing only directions of how to clean straw hats, and fifty business letters; the gas pipes being toys of the land lords' children, and the picture that of the father of the deceased. Hurrah for the omnsicient and omnipresent police!

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For Philadelphia.

The annual Russian Tea Party will take place March 25, at Pennsylvania Hall, 928 S. 6th St. An excellent program has been arranged.

For Cleveland.

"Free Society" meets every Sunday, 3:30 p. m., in Foresters' Hall, 223 Champlain St All friends of liberty are cordially invited.

Observations.

Victor Hugo in his Memoirs records a rather dubious witticism uttered by President Dupin of the French assembly that would surely have a close application if repeated in discussing the Anarchist exclusion act. A bill against universal suffrage was before the assembly, when a member went to Dupin and said: "You are our president and moreover a great legist. You know more than I do. Enlighten me, I am undecided. Is it true that the bill violates the constitution?" Dupin thought a moment, with his face very grave, and then replied: "Well, I would not say that the bill actually violates the constitution, but it leaves it with its clothing seriously disarranged." The anti-Anarchist act goes some further, I think; and if it happened to be a member of the colored population, and the constitution a fair daughter of the South, it would ere this have been lynched on suspicion.

* * *

Mr. Del Mar, the antiquarian, who keeps the present generation from forgetting some of the eccentricities of the past, alleges that in the old days of Rome it was a capital offense to deface a coin of the realm, because it bore the image of Augustus Caesar, who was a Roman deity. That habit of stamping their deity on coins probably gave occasion for the remark we sometimes hear now about little tin gods. And we are not altogether free from the custom, altho we regard ourselves as more emancipated than the Romans. Without being in Rome we do as the Romans did. We stamp a piece of cloth with a number of stripes and bespangle one corner of it with stars, and it immediately becomes a penal offense to put anything else, particularly your foot, on that piece of cloth. The other day a Porto Rican who jumped a few times on the deified bunting was arrested and locked up. His act constituted leze-ragesty.

I conclude that men are polytheists by nature. One god put away beyond manual contact does not satisfy them. They are as imperfect in their monotheism as Mr. Howells says they are in their monogamy, and must have gods on the side. To replenish the stock they deify a variety of objects—pieces of metal, or paper, or cloth, or a period of time, as Sunday or as an abstraction like the government; and while it is allowable in this country to doubt the being and existence of God who some say made us, to disbelieve in the gods we ourselves have made is a more serious matter.

The latest apotheosis, I believe, is that of organized government—the boosting of the administration into the society of the other deities. Forty years ago the Union was thus promoted, and against that god the advocating of secession was blasphemy, altho it is undeniable that prior to that time the most eminent patriots had admitted the right of secession, and that on one occasion or another nearly all the States, including those above the gerrymander of Messrs. Mason and Dixon, had talked solemly of leaving the union. The Civil war enthroned the opposite idea, and instead of old States fighting to get out, there have been a lot of new ones willing to fight to butt in. We do not encourage this union god to do business outside our borders; he does not follow the bunting god, and when a South American republic invokes him our land and naval forces are placed at the service of the seceding State.

As remarked, the newest deity turned out at the god foundry is organized government. We have not attempted yet to make his cult universal, but that will come later. We are trying it now on foreigners, and are hopeful of results that will warrant its extension to include the native-born. Already one man is in jail for denying the government god; and a man in jail, I apprehend, is a sight calculated to encourage every worshipper of the deity and all supporters of the law. The unthinking may ask why it should be more necessary to compel belief in organized government than in organized charity, organized labor, organized religion, or any other form of organized graft, I make no such inquiry; I don't need to, for I recognize the tendency of mankind to deify institutions and enforce conformity by the strong arm of the law, and one institution answers the purpose as well as another. Organized religion has had its day in the pantheon; organized labor is getting there.

Sometimes Freethinkers, in hectoring the believers in a State-defended religious creed, ask why the creed needs protection of the law against denial and ridicule provided it be true; and they (the Freethinkers) argue in derision that so safeguarding the multiplication table has not been found essential to keeping it whole and unreviled. But let them wait; the multiplication table may yet have its innings. If the day comes when all other creeds are exploded, the belief compellers will cheerfully unite on the legally crystalized dogma that two times one is two. And doubt not that scoffers will be found. I am myself already prepared to launch a heresy against it, and declare the statement that "two times one is two" to be rank nonsense and calculated to provoke "inextinguishable laughter." For why, the real truth obscured by this absurdly phrased formula is that one two times is two. It is futile to minify the differences in the two ways of stating the proposition; they are irreconcilable. And now if the error of Servetus, who held that Jesus Christ was the son of the eternal God, while Calvin declared that Jesus was the eternal son of God, was grave enough to bring the heretic to the stake, when it is probable that Jesus Christ was neither the one nor the other—if that slight disparity of statement could lead to fatal results, why should there not be a penalty attached to contumelious reproach of the multiplication table?

Mr. John Turner is "detained" for deportation because he does not believe that organized government is the best thing that will ever happen. The law could not hold men of Mr. Turner's mind if its framers had not astutely inserted the word "organized." Everybody believes in government—self-government—and Mr. Turner professing that belief, might have floored his inquisitors by quoting the old Anarchist who let loose the thought that the man who rules himself is greater than he that taketh San Juan hill and Santiago. It was the adjective "organized" that caught him, altho, adopting the argument of Huxley in his "Administrative Nihilism," he could have maintained with success that the individual is quite as much an organism as the State.

It is as natural that official persons should wish to exclude Anarchists as that a priest should hate an Atheist. Writers whose judgment we may trust in have told us that the first government was probably set up by some ancient patriach to protect the worship of a family or tribal spook. It is inferred that in the process of time the descendants of that patriarch were made familiar with the fact that governing a people apart from looking after the interests of the spooks was something of a snap in itself, and hence they became as sensitive to criticisms of government as their ancestors had been to disparaging comments leveled at the tribal deity. That feeling, which nowadays is a rather livelier sense than any anxiety that secular rulers feel about maintaining religion, has given us onr beneficent statutes against treason, sedition, and disbelief in organized government. So the State becomes a deity, and its overshadowing of the church has bred a variety of parasitic deities, to wit, the holy-day god, the holy-book god, the holy-man god, the sex-god, and so on; and out of its loins spring also the metal god which must never be defaced, the paper god that may not be imitated, and the bunting god that cannot be insulted with impunity. State and Church are the parents of all the divinities except the Goddess of Liberty, which appears to be of more obscure origin.—G. E. M. in *Truth Seeker*.

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Reply to Critics.

PAPA JAMES, FOR INSTANCE.

We sometimes hear spoiled children cry: "Papa is very bad; he won't let me beat my little sister." And there are some papas who surrender to the child's observation, and let him beat his little sister out of respect for liberty.—Henry Maret.

The above "square" is from *Liberty*. *Liberty* was sent to me, which is not regularly. Therefore, I suppose I am to take this to myself. Otherwise I should not have known it. Because I am not aware of being anyone's papa except my own legitimate children's. And I have found no difficulty in teaching them not to beat each other, without showing any disrespect to Liberty. If I were all my neighbors' papa, I would try similar methods with them. But I don't assume to be papa, even of those who willfully get upon the little chair. *Liberty* consequently if, it meant me, shows that disrespect for logic commonly exhibited by those who talk too much about this science. It must know that I am not its papa. Why expect that I should make it be pretty to its little sister? Moral suasion, indeed, I have tried, but with such poor results that I fear what it needs is to go on till it provokes some stronger kid and gets slapped. That's the cure for little bullies not otherwise corrigible. I have actual observations (not among any progeny), which lead me to doubt generally whether papa's birch rod does them (or their little sisters) a particle of good. And so—*revenous a nos motonus*—why does *Liberty* require me to be papa? Is it because I see no necessity to have a papa who will keep my big brother from abusing me? Is the little chair so far down that it cannot conceive the possibility of ever

becoming a grown-up man who "commands not nor obeys?" Well, then, it must be reasoned with. I dare say, my little boy, that a papa would be a handy thing enough for me to have as well as you; but, then, where am I going to get one? Shall I make one out of a "restrainment" club, or a "mind-your-own-business-society," or a Republican, or a Democratic caucus? Ah, I don't like papas made to order. I have seen too much of them. When Brother Jonathan went to work and made Uncle Sam, out of such material as manufactured papas are made of; and when he made "Father Abraham"; and when he calls himself an *Anarchist* (!) and says we need a papa government, tho half of us who are not Anarchists know better—

> "Then they for sudden joy did weep,
> And I for sorrow sung;
> That such a king should play bo-peep,
> And go the fools among." * * *

* * *

Bolton Hall's brief criticism on one paragraph in my writings is a type of the kind to which I have grown accustomed from his school. Of course it is personal. Mr. Hall does "not accept the doctrine that environment is the main factor of development," nor perhaps the State socialistic folly of supposing that an Omnipresent Goodness at Washington or somewhere else can provide pleasant surroundings for everybody. But he accepts the doctrine that C. L. James cannot reason. Is C. L. James a person of such consequence that proving this so frequently is needful? If he has reached so high a degree of importance, he may thank God and take courage.

Meanwhile, it is ruleable to suggest that Mr. Hall, like so many predecessors, hardly seems to make his weighty thesis out. He concludes with the usual insinuation—I should be totally annihilated if he said something, which commendable desire to leave a grease-spot of me for further sport prevents his saying! When he says it, we shall know how that is.

"The discussions," he thinks, "are not generally interesting, and do not usually tend to instruction." What discussions? Discussions about whether I can reason? I am happy to agree with him. Then why start up again? Or discussions like those in my "Vindication of Anarchism," which nowhere says anything about my own reasoning powers? It does say something about the tendency of the inductive method to instruction: and until Mr. Hall refutes what it says, I shall have to think that, tho inductive inquiries into social laws may be less assuring to such as love a noise than hoots and yells like those of a mob preparing to get shot, they are more interesting to people more interested in making a Reformation than a noise. For similar reasons, they may not be as suitable for a school lyceum as debates about whether smoking at the street-corners is "invasion," but may possess more interest for those who want to give "invasion" a death-blow rather than a definition. "Truth, which alone doth judge itself," teaches that inductive methods will show you how to do what you want done, but not what it is you want, and therefore are indeed useless to those who have not made up their minds about that.

Remorseless statistics show more crime of pretty much every sort in the country than in the cities, therefore providing surroundings of whatever kind for the children of the cities would not extinguish crime.

The criticised part of the paragraph he quotes from a letter of mine reads as follow:

This, says Mr. Hall, "assumes that the crimes of cities and the country are equally detected." It does. But I am very happy to assume the contrary. Urban crime is beyond all sort of controversy more thoroly detected than rural. So much the better for my argument.

It assumes, he says further, "that the crimes of the cities and the country are the same." Are they not? I certainly did suppose that murder, rape, arson, robbery, forgery, and so on to the end of the chapter, were equally criminal in town and country, and that there was no exception to the rule of their existing in both. If I was wrong, I desire to be set right.

It assumes again, says Mr. Hall, "that city and country surroundings comprised the catalogue of those under which human beings could live. A mixture of the two is not something outside both, but is a combination of their tendencies. As to ideal—I follow the inductive method. Therefore I consider the surroundings which have been and are. I know nothing about those of Utopia. I do know that Utopia means *Nowhere*. But if it presents such desirable surroundings as ready made coats on sheep's backs and trees which bear roast pigs all hanging by their pretty little tails—why then, I should suggest that inquiry into how to have them Somewhere would be more instructive than inquiry into how they would work if this were Nowhere, and perhaps as interesting!

There are other assaults on my logic in Mr. Hall's critique, short as it is, which I do not understand, and therefore will allow to waste their sweetness on the desert air. His Ingersolian art of packing them tight is to be recommended. He evidently knows what class of people can raise more quibbles in five minutes than thinkers can settle in a much longer time; and as that is where they have the bulge on us poor devils who dig deep for facts when we might as well be making the prismatic colors out of soap and water, it is clear they have secured a champion in all respects suitable.

Or at least it would be, but that amidst all this trifling I find one sensible suggestion, as much surprised at its company as a dollar in a philosopher's pocket. Mr. Hall wants to see the statistics of crime in town and country. I will give him the pleasure of knowing that, tho constantly referred to as notorious, they do not lie on the surface; and his call for verification compelled one to dig a little. In Mulhall's "Dictionary of Statistics" I find that the convictions for crime from the Italian cities are only 42 per cent. of the total, leaving 58 for the country. If I wrote for victory, I might stop there. But writing for truth, I am fain to confess that crime was relatively as well as positively more abundant in the country; and that the statistics do not immediately show that; for in Italy the cities have only 32 per cent of the population, which in France the rural convictions are given (in round numbers evidently) at 100 per million people, but the urban at 220. Convictions for crime, however, are not to be statistically confounded with actual crimes. In England, in 1872, there were 460 convictions against 216 in Ireland. But the average annual ratio of committals for trial in England was only 640 to 840 in Ireland. (These figures are per million inhabitants the former per half million men and as many women). This is evidently a much better test. Everywhere, but especially where the police are least efficient, there are more crimes than committals and more committals than convictions. A high rate of convictions in cities proves therefore only a good police; but a high rate of committals in the country proves a high rate of crime. Observe now, in England, a land of great cities, there were a little more than proportionally twice as many convictions as in Ireland, a country almost wholly agricultural, which is just about the proportion of French city to French country convictions, and more than the Italian. But agricultural Ireland has (relatively) a third more actual crime than manufacturing England, so far as the number of committals enables us to judge. Naturally we may infer that Gascony has many more than Paris; for the Parisian police compare with the Gascon just about as those of London with those of Tipperary. Again, in England, where the police of cities and countries together are doubtless the most efficient in the world, we have over fifty per cent of detected crime laid to vagrants, a class hardly allowed to exist in the cities; 80.5 per cent to vagrants and unskilled proletarians; 14.3 to skilled mechanics, 5.2 to men of business or fortune, Who doubts that unskilled laborers are found chiefly on farms; skilled mechanics, merchants, and "gentlemen," mostly in cities?

Mr. Hall thinks the indefiniteness of the term "pretty much" very fallacious. I should like to be more precise; but when your data are poor, say so like a man of science, instead of pretending to know it all, like a quack! Can it be doubted that until railroads diminished facilities for robbery it was much more common in the country than the cities? Does any one doubt that it is far more common now in the most rustic districts, as southern Illinois, than the most advanced in acts as Chicago? Is not rape much more common in the country than the cities? Are not "feuds," assassinations, lynchings, characteristic crimes of backward agricultural communities? Are not the whole class of vagrant misdemeanors eminently rural? Is not city crime almost confined to a class, conspicuous indeed by concentration, but actually small?—the class of skilled burglars, pickpockets, swindlers, counterfeiters, artful courtesans—those who have been called the *elite* of crime? If so, there are few kinds of crime left in which the city has any pretension to surpass the country.

C. L. JAMES.

—o—

For Chicago.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of *Freiheit*, the indefatigable champion of freedom, will be celebrated in Chicago Sunday, Jan. 17, 3 p. m. at 55 N. Clark St. All friends of liberty who appreciate the perseverance and vigor with which Comrade Most has been fighting for freedom are cordially invited to attend. Admission 10 cents.

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